

Would China provide a new model for developing world?

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Abstract:

China experienced a successful development in an era when the western world is in apparent declining. Has China's rise made its approach to the development of a new model for the emerging world? China model in modern concept is normally recognised as an alternative to mainstream western model of development. However, in 1970s, many scholars attempted to examine China model as an alternative to Soviet model. China model described by different scholars in different historical period has different meaning and it seems challenging to find a universal definition of China model. This paper will show the challenges faced by 'Democratic-Capitalist Model', and examine the terminology 'China model of development' through summarising and analysing the major success elements of China model from comparative perspective including findings from other scholars. Afterwards, this paper shows all the success elements of China model is based on the foundation of 'Party-Led State'. The 'Party-Led State' might be able to provide stability during modernisation, capable to push the economy to develop and reform, and also able to integrate different ideas and interests through consultative democracy. In addition, it will further discuss the existence and feasibility of China Model and its preconditions for emerging world to adopt. At last, it will point out that China model is a continuous progressing model rather than static prescription like 'Washington Consensus'.

Key Words: China model of development, China's rise, 'Party-Led State'

1. INTRODUCTION

When the mainstream Anglo-American model was generally under apparent recession, China has experienced successful continuous development for nearly 40 years. The achievements China achieved over the last several decades have legitimately challenged many of the western countries, most of which held notions about the realities of government and economics (French, 2007). China has become the “biggest potential ideological competitor to liberal democratic capitalism since the end of communism” (Ash, 2008). From Vietnam to Syria, from Burma to Venezuela, and all across Africa, leaders of developing countries are admiring and emulating what might be called the China Model (Zhao, 2010), which raises a question whether China provides a new model for modernisation.

The discussion about China Model actually started from the Mao’s period. Taking the Gray’s paper in 1972 and Vogel’s paper in 1976 for example, they discussed how their version of ‘China Model’ is different from Eastern Europe and Former Soviet Union socialist bloc. The latest intense debate over ‘China Model’ generally started from the John Cooper Ramo’s article in 2004, in which the term ‘Beijing Consensus’ was used to describe China’s unique development approach. It is different from the Democratic-Capitalist approach, such as the recommended ‘Washington Consensus’ (Williamson, 1989). This paper will firstly discuss the China’s development since 1978. Besides, it will also contain and try to connect the China’s experience from Mao’s age together so as to develop and discuss my own opinions of the up to date ‘China Model’. The concept raised in the paper shows, ‘Party-Led State’ is a political system under Communist Party’s leadership, which able to provide stable political and social environment during modernisation, capable to push the economy to develop and reform. It also combine with multi-party cooperation, enable the regime to collect and integrate different ideas and interests through ‘Consultative Democracy’.

In this paper, I will firstly illustrate China’s development and what the China model is. Therefore, in the second part, the challenges faced by ‘Democratic-Capitalist Model’ will be discussed. After that, I will illustrate my induction of the features of China Model as well as the concept of ‘Party-Led State’. Moreover, the limitations and feasibility of the China model will be evaluated and the existence of the China model will be argued. The final part is the conclusion.

2. CHINA’S RISE AND THE ‘CHINA MODEL’ OF DEVELOPMENT

Over the last 38 years, China experienced a continuous successful development in many areas, especially in its social economy. Many people may even predict that China’s GDP will surpass that of the US by the year of 2018 and in the year of 2030 Chinese economy will be twice as much as that of the US (Subramanian, 2011). However, China has faced many problems compared with the developed countries, such as the rising inequality and the environmental

damage. Still, China is extremely successful when comparing with many other countries in the third world which struggle how to develop. The China's development path is entirely different from the western perspective as well as the western capitalist model. Certainly, China is developing under a totally different international environment compared to the period of western development. Chinese society and its institution system is a combination of the traditional civilisation and the modern socialist regime. China is a civilisation-state rather than a western style nation-state (Jacques, 2009).

Zhao Suisheng mentioned in his paper, the China model after Deng's reform may have two components. The first component is to follow the example of the successful elements of the liberal economic policy by opening up much of the economy to the foreign and domestic investment, allowing labour flexibility, keeping the tax and regulatory burden low, and building the first-class infrastructure through a combination of private sector and state spending. The second component is to permit the ruling party to retain a firm grip on government, the army, the internal security apparatus, and the totally free flow of information. (Zhao, 2010) In the western terminology, to some extent China provided a model representing a successful co-existence of the free market and the authoritarian state. (Zhao, 2010) However, as many western scholars suggested, Chinese economy may not that free market and Chinese Politics may not that authoritarian. (Zhao, 2010) Some scholars may argue that China's success is achieved through adopting some aspects of the capitalist model and Chinese reform is developing towards the democratic-capitalist system. Furthermore, the others argue that China will continue its own path. Whether the China model exists or not, China's alternative successful development path is still challenging the western traditional thinking of economic freedom plus political liberty and electoral democracy.

3. CHALLENGES FACED BY DEMOCRATIC-CAPITALIST MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT AND 'WASHINGTON CONSENSUS'

The 'Democratic-Capitalist Model' along with the liberal democracy and free market is the institution system used by most European and North-American developed countries. After decolonisation, many countries in the third world formed and started their road to modernisation. Many people thought that the western democratic-capitalist model is the universal identified model. In 1989, John Williamson concluded the democratic-capitalist development model as 'Washington Consensus', which includes ten neo-liberal policy prescriptions for economic reform in Latin America, the policies stressed the primacy of the market and the limited role of the state. Later, it was presented as one size fits all for Latin American and other developing states facing economic crisis. However, the prescription did not save Latin American economy from an average of less than 2% growth rate and suffering the continuous appearance of crises.

The 'Washington Consensus' also expanded to include liberal democratic politics together with free market economy. Liberal democracy and free market as the indispensable destination of

modernisation, became the basis of the 500-Day ‘shock therapy’ Program was applied to the former Soviet Union and East European countries after the collapse of communism in these countries. (Zhao, 2010) It resulted in the massive closing of industry and the loss of an important number of strategic State assets. This model instigated the full opening of its market and the free exchange of its currency, which brought about enormous debt and a financial crisis that entailed the loss of 4.2 times its gross national product (GNP) between 1992 and 1996. Beside, this strategy also led to a drop in income of 60% of the population while the level of extreme poverty rose to 40%. Furthermore, only 10% of the population had access to higher levels of wealth and the development of Russian economy was thrown back to twenty years ago. (Oropeza Garcia, 2009) As a contrast, China remained the Communist Party’s ruling position and political stability, and gradually shifted its economy towards the free market with selective openness. All those gradual progressions achieved a completely different outcome.

India and China are the two largest emerging countries: India has capitalist system and China is a socialist country. Comparing these two countries, both the growth rate and the quality of development in India is not as good as those in China. Many aspects that people may think are the advantages of the “western democracy”, such as the lower level of corruption and equality. However, in those kinds of area, India is not better than China. In fact, India may even worse than China.

The 2008 global financial crises started from the US, which further weakened people’s confidence on the western “Democratic-Capitalist” model. People realised not only non-western countries fully adopting western model performed not very well, but also western countries themselves has serious problems (Zhang Weiwei, 2011). ‘Washington Consensus’ ignored market failures and viewed government as the problem (Stiglitz, 2005), which is the fundamental problem that capitalist liberalism has and been appointed by Karl Marx in the mid of 19th century. Many people in America went to the Wall Street and demonstrated that “We are the 99%”.

4. FEATURES OF CHINA MODEL

The official expression of Chinese institutional system is the ‘Socialism with Chinese Characteristics’ announced by Deng Xiaoping and the ‘Socialist Market Economy’ announced by Jiang Zemin. Its political system is called the ‘People’s Democratic Dictatorship’ announced by Chairman Mao, which based on the Leninist ‘Democratic Centralism’ idea, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Most recently, the Chinese political system is been frequently called the ‘People’s Democracy’ or ‘Consultative Democracy’ by Chinese officials. In western point of view, this system may be not as “liberal” as the “Democratic-Capitalist” model, but it has certain advantages, such as providing stability, policy continuity, and long-term horizon. Some Chinese scholars described the unity of opposites between democracy and authority as an essential element of a capable political structure (Wang, Lin and Sun et al., 2004). Those characters are especially important for an underdeveloped country and it will be

discussed later. According to Turin's (2010) summary, the 'Beijing Consensus' announced by Ramo has three major features: a commitment to innovation and constant experimentation in reform; an emphasis on sustainability and equality instead of taking the per capita GDP as the only one measure of progress; and a commitment to self-determination. In this chapter, I integrated his idea with other scholars' materials I read plus my own thinking. Besides, I described China model from five aspects: stability, innovation, independence and self-determination, long term planning, and, the unbalanced development policy before balanced development policy. Thus, I will describe the concept of 'party-led state' in next chapter.

4.1 Stability

The Chinese political system provided a stable environment for development. The precondition for economic development is a stable social environment. The Chinese political system allowed a successful co-existence of a market economy and a socialist state in order to maintain the economic growth and political stability. The Chinese institution is stable but not static. Opposite to the static US style model, the China Model is highly innovative. Besides, the reform is implemented on the basis of the constant experimentation, which seems like the old Chinese saying goes "crossing the river by feeling the stones".

4.2 Innovation

As Deng Xiaoping (1985) mentioned "The reform in China is a great experiment that is not found in books". One important feature of the China's development model is highly innovative so that it can outpace the "friction losses of reform" (Turin, 2010). The government must actively innovate in order to address the challenges raised by the changing economic and social environment (Ramo, 2004). Leonard also mentioned in his paper that "constant tinkering and constant change, and a recognition that different strategies are appropriate for different situations".

This feature of the China Model is derived from the emphasis that China has placed on innovation in its own development since the 1978 reform. In particular, China has maintained a strong focus on creating effective policies in order to solve problems that are actually important to Chinese people. To achieve this goal, it has been essential for China to actually gain an understanding of people's demand. "The (Chinese) government itself is known to carry out surveys of public opinion precisely to find out public attitude toward itself", and therefore to actively assess the impact and popularity of their policies (Ogden, 2002). The government of China making policy relies heavily on "surveys and polling", "reflects a dedication to 'constant tinkering' vis-à-vis innovative policymaking" (Turin, 2010). Through survey and research, the continuous policy innovation are "from the masses and back to the masses...for the people and depends on the people" (Mao, 1943).

The Western system especially the Anglo-American system faces serious challenges because the static and ultimate universal thinking lead to reluctant to change and reform. To overcome this challenge, they need to learn from China's socialist system. However, the advantage of

China's institutional system is that it is a highly innovative system and can adjust itself at any time.

4.3 Independence and Self-Determination

Independence and self-determination, is one important feature of China model and also put emphasized on 'Beijing Consensus' that developing countries need to actively seek independence from outside world (mainly from the west), as it is imposed by "hegemonic powers" such as the United States (Ramo, 2004). This value can be found through Chinese traditional animosity to the foreign invaders in its history, and most recently Chinese government refuse to submit to the foreign pressures and instead of pursuing its own development goals. (Turin, 2010)

Since 1949, Mao seeks the National independence and complete sovereignty due to many Chinese people's humiliation of semi-colony since the Opium War. Wanghui, a professor from TsingHua University, mentioned that the reason why Chinese Communism did not follow the Soviet Union to Collapse like Eastern Europe is because China has independent Sovereignty. This enables China to continue its own development path after the collapse of 'Berlin War'. Gresh (2008) discussed independency of the China Model as "valuing independence and self-determination and refusing to let other (western) powers impose their will", he pointed out that "Countries can plan their own development without having to accept the unfavourable terms of the Washington Consensus".

It is easy to find the answer why the Chinese model is so attractive to other developing nations. Particularly in the third world countries, where have a long history of incursion and exploitation by western countries. The idea of independence and self-determination as China model suggested is the long term desire of third world countries. This can be proved by China's increasingly important role in Africa. Princeton Lyman, working for the Council on Foreign Relations in the U.S., writes, "China's investments are attractive to Africans... because they come with no conditionality related to governance, fiscal probity or other of the concerns that now drive western donors" (Lyman, 2005). "China does not seek to impose its own priorities on partner countries, for good or ill" as Turin wrote. (Turin, 2010) However, "Washington Consensus" and western model totally ignored the independency.

4.4 Longer term development planning

The Chinese central government makes strategic development planning every five years. Some scholar argues that the long term strategic planning enables China to have the long horizon of development rather than the short sighted policy that the democratic-capitalist government normally make. China has already known what it wants until the year of 2020 and 2030, and had a plan to achieve it. In 1953, China began its long-term programs starting with its 1st Five-Year Plan, drawn up under the guidance of the Soviet Union focusing on the heavy industry and the agricultural sector. To date, China has proceeded with the plan ahead, as evidenced by its 13th Five-Year Program (2016-2020), which stresses the importance and responsibility of

civil servants. This program will be evaluated not only from the country's success in the economic growth, but also from the progresses made in social development, education, environmental protection and job creation. (Oropeza Garcia, 2009) This general and systematic policy of working towards long term goals is enhanced by special plans for specific topics, such as technology, income distribution, poverty reduction, etc., on the basis of the State's development strategy. China has reached the point of planning 50 or 100 years into the future, as in the case of the development in the western area. (Oropeza Garcia, 2009)

The neo-liberal idea of democratic-capitalist model taught people that the government should not make development plan and only need to provide legal framework. Besides, the country should develop the free market in which the competition is intervened by the government limitedly. Most Latin American countries carry out reform following the 'Washington Consensus' and lack of clear strategies or plans so that their development performance is not as good as China. However, the economy in the developing countries would be less likely to succeed in the global competition of the free trade without the clear strategic development planning. In Mexico, "the political power struggle (executive vs. legislative)" along with the short-term out-dated public criteria, "reduce development expectations to an immediacy that does not correspond to a policy of project maturation, as is required". (Oropeza Garcia, 2009) However, China has already known which technological products it should incorporate into its export platform, just as it has already defined what will be produced in the given regions or areas of the country and when it should be achieved. Comprehensive long-term vision is a lesson that could be of great use in Latin American public policy directed by 'Washington Consensus'. (Oropeza Garcia, 2009) Now China model has become very attractive to Latin American countries, in which the economies are not able to grow more than an average of 2% because of a lack of direction and experiencing the continuous appearance of crises over more than three decades. On the contrary, China enjoys the annual growth rate of 10% at the same period.

4.5 From unbalanced development to balanced development

Since the 1st Five-Year Plan had been made, the development strategy of China was mainly unbalanced. First of all, as for the country's industrialisation, the government transfer resources from the agriculture to the industry, which created urban-rural inequality but enabled an agricultural country to successfully transfer to an industrialised country; secondly, the government makes development decisions among different industries, and plan to give priority to the industry which they think is more important and urgently needed, such as heavy industry, construction etc. Those industries chosen by the government are normally high linkage industries, which can pull the development of other industries. Moreover, the benefits will spill over to the whole society. The neo-liberal thinking of Democratic-Capitalist model lacks of government's original investment on infrastructure or on chosen industries. Thus, the whole economy and society will still remain stable on a lower level of development. This is the reason why many developing countries without a strong government and under free market cannot

take-off its economy. The Japanese economic take-off since the 1960s was stated from the government policy privilege on the heavy industry under an authoritarian government ruled by LDP.

In the year of 2003, Hu Jintao announced the ‘Scientific Development’; it is a signal that China shifts its development policy to balanced development. It is a significant policy shift from the development with the emphasis of the leading industry to a more balanced development. Moreover, it takes the omissive development area, omissive development sector and damaged environment into consideration. Start from the unbalanced development then shift to the balanced development is a valuable strategy for the emerging world.

I think those factors talked above are the essential features of China Model. China Model is highly valuable to the developing countries by “enhance the voice of developing nations in global affairs” (Lai-Ha, Lee, and Chan, 2008). Comparing with Washington Consensus, the China Model as many scholars suggested (‘Beijing Consensus’ also suggested) does not dictate any specific policy that followers must undertake, and any of those policies which can be shaped when considering a particular country. It is thus may be less outwardly recognisable as a “model”. (Turin, 2010)

5. THE ‘PARTY-LED STATE’ AS THE CORE CONCEPT AND FOUNDATION OF CHINA MODEL

All those aspects of China model are based on the fundamental political structure of China, defined as the ‘Party-Led State’. Besides, all the elements of China model need to be reinforced by this political structure, the leadership of the Communist Party of China. The ‘Party-Led State’ is a political system under Communist Party’s leadership, combine with multi-party cooperation, in order to provide stability, capability, authority, as well as, pluralist and democracy. The system is able to provide a long run stable political and social environment during modernisation, capable to push the economy to develop and reform, and also able to collect and integrate different ideas and interests through ‘Consultative Democracy’.

Samuel P. Huntington mentioned in his book “*Political Order in Changing Societies*” that one ruling party system, no matter which type of one ruling party system is, is the optimal political system for modernisation. He also has written that the developing countries should learn from the example of Moscow and Beijing rather than Washington.

The leadership of CPC is the fundamental idea of ‘Party-Led State’. It provides a stable and powerful regime which is essential for a capable government and long-run development planning. The ‘Party-Led State’ was built by the Communist Party of China through the communist revolution. It is a political system which is able to mobilise resources across the whole country. The ability to mobilise resources is not only important in a war or revolution, but also crucial for the economic development. At the early stage of development, a party-led state would provide enough authority and encouragement of mobilising resources for primitive

capital accumulation, hence to launch the industrialisation process. In later stage of development, the party-led state with political ideals and authority would also be able to make economic reform and transformation so as to overcome the resistance from special interest groups.

Since the party is the only ruling party, the central government need to take the interest and welfare of the whole people into consideration rather than one particular class represented by one political party in western countries. The party “represent the fundamental interest of the most majority of the people” from ‘three representative’ written in the party constitution of CPC, shows the distinctive difference with the ruling party in western ‘electoral democratic’ system. The Chinese representative system is called ‘People’s Democracy’ and ‘Democratic Centralism’.

China successfully launched industrialisation in Mao's era and successfully made reform and opening up after 1978. Most recently, the party-led state of China is adjusting the state-market relation and seeking a new form of economic development. The economic ‘take-off’ and transformation of all those different ways of economic development would not be achieved without a ‘Party-Led State’.

Not many late development countries have got a stable and well-functioning ruling party leading the state. Former Soviet Union is a Leninist Party-State which successfully achieved industrialisation and won the war against Germany. East Asian Developmental States experienced the one-party system during their economic miracle era. Some other countries tried to make long-term development planning or industrial policy or other similar measures like China model. However, in most late development countries, the attempt of economic modernisation finished in failure due to the lack of an effective long-run stable ruling party.

On the other hand, although CPC is the ruling party of China, compare with Leninist ‘Party-State’ in Soviet Union, China’s ‘Consultative Democracy’ is also a multi-party cooperation system, allows different political parties participate in politics, not only through the ‘Political Consultative Conference’ but also by join the government. Compare with Soviet one party state model, the consultative democratic ‘Party-Led State’ is a more plural political system, able to collect different ideas and integrate different interests from different groups. This kind of feature makes Chinese political system more innovative and more plural than Soviet Union, thus reform is easier to happen in China rather than Soviet Union.

Therefore, China model has certain advantages when it compares with western model and also the former Soviet model. If the word to identify the main-stream Anglo-American model of development is ‘Democratic-Capitalist’, the word to identify China model in this article is probably ‘Party-Led State’.

6. LIMITATIONS OF FEASIBILITY FOR EMERGING WORLD TO ADOPT THE CHINA MODEL

Is China Model feasible outside China? To some extent, the China Model is limited because it is established on the basis of China's own unique conditions: the long experiment with socialism, the world's largest population, a noteworthy Confucian tradition, and a demographically and geographically huge country.

Party-led state is one factor that most late development countries lack of. First of all, a stable regime, which many developing countries especially many African countries do not have, is the primary condition for development. A well-functioning political party as the back-up of stable political regime is hardly to form in many late development societies, since stable social class may not exist yet to form a stable party regime (Huntington, 1968). Secondly, since any economic take off policy is long-run, a capable and stable ruling party with certain authority is necessary for mobilising resources and making long run development planning. South Asian countries like India may have a stable political and social environment but they lack of a capable ruling party to push the country to develop.

Many papers about China's development model only study the circumstances during the period after 1978, but the fast development is highly related to Mao's period. One difficulty that other developing countries may face to adopt China model is that they did not experience a period of Mao where heavy industrialisation, land reform, eliminating illiteracy campaigns, self-innovation in high technology take place. Actually, all those features have been mentioned in western development economics textbook as important factors for development but many developing countries lacks.

For example, India reformed and opened its economy in 1990 but the economic growth is not as high as that in China. It is because many essential factors for the fast development in China have been completed in the Mao's age, where India did not have. China popularised education and did land reform before its opening and reform, but India do not have skilled population and the land is concentrated in the hands of landlords. Skilled labour and reformed land are very important factors of economic growth and development.

Confucius tradition is also beneficial to the fast development. For example, it teaches people to invest heavily in education and encourage saving. Highly skilled labour and high saving rate are important to economic growth and social development. East Asian four tigers are also Confucius tradition taught area; it further proved that the importance of Confucianism is also an important factor to achieve development.

One significant advantage that other countries do not have is the vast territory, it can generates economic scale. China is a demographically and geographically huge country; there are significant advantages whence from its large scale. The large scale economy enables the country to do massive production to cover huge amount of initial investment. However, many developing countries cannot produce advanced products because they cannot afford the initial costs required by industrial up-grading. The wide country with huge population also provides enough demands to consume the massive product and make the investment profitable. The

huge population also provides enough cheap labour and can lower the cost. Therefore, China is able to compete with more industrially advanced countries. The huge population also provide larger amount of “smart” people such as the professional experts and high skilled labour, which enables China to be a strong country in scientific research and innovation to overcome difficulties of late development.

The huge country can also enable China to overcome unexpected shocks include natural disasters occurred in the process of development. For example, the whole country’s development did not affected by the earthquake in Sichuan Province and Sichuan Province immediately recovered through receiving subsidies and helps from the central government and other provinces. A small sized or normal sized country’s development process could be significantly influenced by such a huge natural disaster. China is also a diversified huge country. There are many differences between different areas. Therefore, the different reform experiments can be processed in the different regions and a successful reform model can hence been spread to the whole country. For example, the household response farming system was started from Xiaogang village and then spread to the whole country.

Those important aspects are not realised by many authors. However, they are unique advantages and pre-conditions that many other countries may do not have but can cause difficulties for other countries to adopt China model.

7. WHETHER THERE EXIST A ‘CHINA MODEL’ OR IT IS ANOTHER SUCCESSFUL ROUTE OF WESTERN TERM OF ‘MODERNISATION’

Some scholars think that ‘Beijing Consensus’ or the China model is the alternative to ‘Washington Consensus’ and the “Democratic-Capitalist” system. As some western scholars believe, the state capitalism appears as the mercantilism in international affair and the authoritarianism in domestic affair.

The East Asian model, like Japan, Chinese Taiwan and Singapore were state capitalist at the time when they experienced the fast growth and development under the authoritarian government. However, once they become developed, their political system will transfer to democratic-capitalism. According to the concept of state capitalism, some scholars argue China is at the stage of state capitalism and will transfer to the western democratic-capitalist system after being developed.

Edward Steinfield mentioned in his book *“Playing Our Game: Why China’s Rise Doesn’t Threaten the West”* that the dualistic view of ‘Beijing Consensus’ and ‘Washington Consensus’ is wrong. Over the last 30 years, both political institute and the economic system of China are changing towards the west. He used the term ‘institutional out resourcing’ to explain how Chinese political institution and economic transformation through integrating into the global market and using foreign resources. The difference with other emerging world is that China relies largely on attracting foreign direct investment, importing foreign technology and the

import-export commerce. He also thinks that China out resourcing its industrial up-grading process to the foreign capitals. Since entering into the global market, China needs to obey the international legal framework and the international standard, which force China to adjust its domestic legal framework; this is the legal framework out resourcing. Since 1990s, many large Chinese SOEs and Banks start IPO on overseas stock market and attract foreign investors; this is the out resourcing the corporate governance. Finally, Chinese domestic politics will also be influenced by the institutional out resourcing; the Chinese society will be more and more open and Chinese Communist Party will adjust and reform itself in accordance with the social change, hence, he mentioned that China is continuously and gradually changing towards the west, even its political system. However, he do not believe China will end up with a western style capitalist country like state-capitalism suggested, western model has its own problems, 'the End of History' is a wrong statement. He believe CPC will continue to be the ruling party and will also bring some new elemates to the world. (Steinfeld, 2010)

Some other scholars, such as Stefan Halper (2011) mentioned: "China will follow its own route and will never transfer to a western style country." Whatever the future direction of Chinese reform towards, China's development itself has already adopted many elements from the western model, e.g. the market economy etc. But China is not a state-capitalist country like East Asian Model, it is highly unlikely China would transfer to Capitalist Model in any case, China will countinue its long march of socialism.

Although Chinese model been discussed and supported by many scholars, the Chinese officials have never confirmed the terminology of 'China Model'. For example, the former Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao said: "China is still discovering its way of development; we never think our development is a model." He also mentioned that "different countries should develop following the route which is suitable to its country, China respects all the choices made by people from different nations, and different nations should also respect each other, and learn from each other's development path." (Xinhua Net, 2011, Wen's talk on People's Congress) Thus, officially China prefers to use 'China's Development Path' rather than 'China Model'. The concept of 'China's Path' and the China's foreign policy principle of 'non-interference in other country's internal affairs', may be originated from the same value of 'independence and self-determination' which has been mentioned in my description of 'China Model'. The 'Chinese Path' is probably better to describe the China's development, since it is not a static "universal" model whereas 'Washington Consensus' is.

Most recently, the 'Three Confidences' mentioned by the former general secretary Hu Jintao in the 18th Congress of CPC and the 'Four Confidences' mentioned by the general secretary Xi Jinping, sent us a signal that Chinese officials have acknowledged China model at least in the form of the 'the Path of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics'. On one hand, as I mentioned, the essence of China Model exist in the form of the distinctive path of its development, which is highly different from the static Anglo-American model, the main stream model of development. On the other hand, the 'Four Confidences' are related with Chinese political

system. Confidences on development path, ideology, institution and culture are highly related with Chinese socialism and the concept of 'Party-Led State'.

8. CONCLUSION

It is hard to make a clear conclusion about what China Model is, because China is experiencing continuous reform, and it is so different from the Washington's prescription. When people discuss about China Model at present, it is certainly different from how the 'China Model' has been discussed 30 years ago. Probably 30 years later, the discussion about what 'China model' is would also be different from what we talked today. The development path of China is different from the western traditional thinking of Democratic-Capitalist approach. In my opinion, China will carry on its own path but it does not affect China to adopt the good elements from other parts of the world. The 'Party-Led State' is the concept I think might be able to describe the foundation of China's success in development and may be the essence of 'China Model' through the ages, if China model does exist. It is hard to predict the future, however since China experienced a quite successful development, there are many aspects that other countries can learn from China. In this sense, China is providing a new model for developing world.

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